FOUR SPECIAL FEATURES TO MARK NEGRO HISTORY WEEK — PAGES 5 TO 8

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 13, NO. 18 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 13, 1961

FREEDOM WINDS HAVE BEEN BLOWING IN THE SOUTH SINCE LAST FEBRUARY (SEE PAGE 7)
Wherever good sense was matched with good will, integration looked like this schoolroom in Kentucky

KENNEDY'S MANEUVERABILITY

Future course still hazy after report on State of the Union

By Robert E. Light

WILLY LOMAN, Arthur Miller's doomed hero in **Death of a Salesman,** advised his sons that the key to success is to be "well-liked." The Lomans never made it because Willy reasoned on illusion; reality predestined his defeat. But President Kennedy has confounded reality. In less than one month he has shown that it is possible to please almost everybody, if only for a while.

Following an inaugural address which offended no one, Kennedy delivered a State of the Union talk Jan. 30 which was applauded East and West, by capital and labor, and even by some Republicans. He offered a well-balanced package. There was something for those who want to press the cold war, but there also were overtures to easing world tensions. There was a program for helping the unemployed and for pumping out the recession, but there was also a promise of a sound dollar.

If President Kennedy was disproving reality, he managed it by passing illusion to his audience. Each group satisfied itself that the words it wanted to hear were the true message.

WARNS OF PERIL: Those who looked for portents of the next four years found little in the first days of the Administration. President Kennedy demonstrated only an ample skill to maneuver—a skill that has been missing from the White House for many years. But the direction of his maneuvers was still uncertain.

President Kennedy pictured the nation in crisis at home and abroad—"I speak today in an hour of national peril." On world affairs, he said: "We must never be lulled into believing that either power [the U.S.S.R. and China] has yielded its ambitions for world domination."

"In Latin America," he said, "Communist agents seeking to exploit that region's peaceful revolution of hope have

London Daily Express
"Er—un-recognizable and non-existent as I am, I hope you'll see me soon!"

established a base on Cuba, only 90 miles from our shores."

He also said: "We must never forget our hopes for the ultimate freedom and welfare of the Eastern European peoples."

He proposed to "strengthen our military tools" by (1) "obtaining additional air transport mobility . . . to increase our air-lift capacity"; (2) stepping up the Polaris nuclear submarine program; and (3) accelerating "our entire missile program."

SPEAKS OF PEACE: On the other hand, he also called for "open and peaceful competition [with the socialist world] for prestige, for markets, for scientific achievement, even for men's minds." He said that the U.S. would be willing to join Soviet scientists on projects "where nature makes natural allies of us all."

He defined the U.S. quarrel with Cuba, "Questions of economic and trade policy can always be negotiated," he said. "But communist domination in this hemis-

(Continued on Page 4)

IKE WAS BOLDER IN 1958 RECESSION

JFK offers mild antidote for sick economy

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Kennedy in his State of the Union message on Jan. 30 somberly diagnosed the U.S. economy as "in trouble," with a recession now superimposed on years of economic sluggishness, with rising bankruptcies, 5,500,000 jobless, and long falling farm income. Three days later in a message to Congress outlining his "program for economic recovery and growth of the Nation," the President mildly prescribed aspirin for the economy and said that if the patient was still sick in April or May he would propose "additional measures."

Kennedy's grave view of the economic situation contrasted with the glowing description of the economy in President Eisenhower's last State of the Union message on Jan. 12. Kennedy deplored "the failure to use our full capacity," and the "anemic recovery" from the 1958 recession, and warned of "the possibility of further deterioration." He was realistic and sharp about the "urgent circumstances . . . waste and misery" caused by unemployment of "serious proportions."

Republican critics said the President exaggerated our economic plight. Kennedy's grim view was highlighted by the Soviet press. Cairo newspapers interpreted the message as public evidence that America has become bankrupt and corrupt, and the Japanese Socialist Party greeted the President's dark picture as confirming their outlook.

CAUTIOUS REMEDIES: But President Kennedy's economic action program seemed better suited to Mr. Eisenhower's complacency than to his own proclaimed sense of urgency. Republican and business circles responded with surprised comments of satisfaction. **Business Week** (Feb. 4) reported the view that "Kennedy is talking a worse recession than he is proposing remedies for . . . For the most part his remedies seemed to be 'easy stuff'—mostly a slight step-up in welfare or construction spending already established," and concluded: "It's taken for granted now that the new President is basically more conservative than liberal." The New York **Times** titled the new President "a cautious activist."

Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) said President Kennedy was taking an "us too" line by adopting many Eisenhower proposals and was putting forth small items of little effect. The House Republican leader Charles Halleck (Ind.) held that the Kennedy proposals were "not altogether earth-shaking." The New York **Herald Tribune** (Feb. 3) commented: "The salient impression made by President Kennedy's economic message to Congress is its orthodoxy. It confirmed once again the notion that his financial instincts are cautious and conservative rather than experimental or revolutionary . . . No one can accuse him of rushing in where the bankers and the business men fear to tread."

THE PROGRAM: The main measures proposed by President Kennedy "to alleviate the distress arising from unsatisfactory performance of the economy and to stimulate economic recovery and growth" are:

- Federal loans for temporary extension of jobless benefits to unemployed workers exhausting regular benefits. Later on, permanent legislation to improve unemployment insurance.
- Improve Social Security benefits, primarily by a $10 monthly increase in the minimum pension and permission for men (as women can now) to retire at age 62 with a reduced pension. To be paid for by a one-quarter of 1% increase in employer and employe social security tax.
- Raise minimum wage from $1 to $1.15 now, and to $1.25 in 1963, with extended coverage.
- Loans and technical aid to economically distressed areas, with priority to these areas in government spending.
- Pilot food stamp plan, in five areas, as Congress authorized last year, to use

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THE MAIL BAG

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Friends of Louis Burnham

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I would like to take this occasion to thank all of Louis Burnham's friends and associates who have been so kind to us during this past most difficult year. The children and I recognize and appreciate the fact that your interest in our family is extended to us through your love and respect for our dearly beloved companion.

A few months ago, I came upon a letter written by Louis to Margaret at camp three years ago. I would like to share a few paragraphs with you because it so well expresses part of the goal of his life:

"I should like to have heard the discussion on cheating. I think it is a bad habit because it robs the cheater of self-reliance, of the ability to stand on his own feet. Human life is never as long as we'd like it to be. So, in a limited time, each human has the job of learning as much as possible about the world we live in and the other human beings in it. In this way we can live the most fruitful and satisfying lives possible; only in this way can we fulfill whatever natural abilities we have.

"It's not so much a matter of competing with others as making ourselves the best human beings we can become. Our race, and the nation, need such young people, and not shoddy half-hearted students and cheaters."

I am sure that it would have been a source of deep satisfaction to Louis to know that his love of mankind and the deep attachments which he had to his friends and associates have been so sincerely returned and passed on to his children.

Dorothy Burnham
171 Maple St.

On P. 6 is reprinted the last article Louis Burnham wrote for the GUARDIAN. He died Feb. 12, 1960. A Louis E. Burnham Fund has undertaken to insure the education of his four children. Ed.

Eyewitness

TUCSON, ARIZ.

I am one of several hundred Americans who visited Cuba during the Christmas holidays. I returned deeply concerned about what I believe to be a shameful distortion of the realities of the Cuban revolution as it has been reported in the U.S. press.

With the GUARDIAN group, I traveled through four provinces and talked with scores of Cuban people. I saw 1961 christened the "year of education" in Cuba and heard plans for the total abolition of illiteracy in only one year.

I saw schools that are bringing educational opportunity to children who never before had a chance. I saw new recreational facilities which have changed the beaches of Cuba from playgrounds for the rich into playgrounds for all the Cuban people. I saw cooperative farms which are a part of the agrarian reform which is completely transforming a semi-feudal agricultural setup. I saw new housing replacing slums that make a mockery of the dignity of human beings.

Even more impressive than the material benefits of the revolution are the Cuban people themselves, alive with new hope, enthusiasm and a determination that nothing will turn the clock back to the terrible time of the Batista dictatorship.

I wonder if forces among our power elite have brought pressures to bear which may seriously threaten what should be a naturally high correlation between a "free press" and "the truth."

Clyde R. Appleton

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Legislation curbing the number of migrants receiving welfare payments could contribute substantially towards financing a new jail for Oneida County, Kenneth R. Barnum, foreman of the January Grand Jury, said today.

—The Utica (N.Y.) **Observer-Dispatch**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., Clinton, N.Y.

Time will tell

BURBANK, CALIF.

With fair-minded Catholic Charles Pemberton's sharp rebuke of Cardinal Spellman's unfeeling insult of Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro, I am in hearty accord. I too am trying to be fair-minded in the matter of the significance of the popular revolution in Cuba and Fidel Castro's true purpose.

It is perhaps understandable that as an articulate spokesman of the right-wing political hierarchy of the Roman Church in the United States, Cardinal Spellman may feel impelled to defend the capitalistic status quo at all costs. Time, I believe, will show how wrong he is.

Guy W. Finney

Now he knows

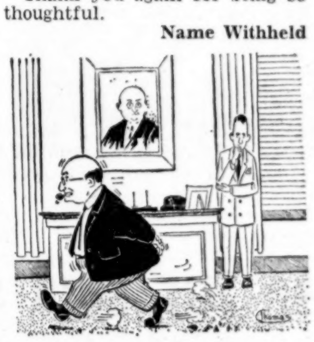
HARRISBURG, PA.

You do not realize how much I appreciate your sending me **Listen, Yankee** by C. Wright Mills. Nobody else was decent enough to tell the true facts.

Of course, I always realized that after Spain our big monopolies took over the rich lands and planted the sugar and we got the military base and exploited the country, and the Cubans remained poor and miserable. But I did not know all the facts and found difficulty in arguing down all the propaganda that is thrown down our throats.

Thank you again for being so thoughtful.

Name Withheld



Thomas, Signalman's Journal

"What can we do next? We charge for parking, close ticket offices, knock off trains, don't clean cars—yet people still ride our trains."

Who's rich?

WHEATFIELD, IND.

I just read **Listen, Yankee** and I agree with most of what the Cubans say.

But they are wrong when they call us rich! Americans are not rich—when viewed from the bottom half of our people. A worn out car, a television antenna atop a shack, a rented home, these are not riches.

The used car and credit have deceived our poor — and maintained the position of the wealthy.

Clarence Speyer

No blood

MIAMI, FLA.

If "free elections" were to be held in Cuba, Castro would most certainly win by a greater majority than Kennedy.

Cuba envisages education, medical care and work for all, abundance of schools, hospitals, factories and an attractive home for every Cuban.

Surely we wouldn't shed American blood to stop previously neglected Cuba from getting the same things President-elect Kennedy told us we need right here.

George K. Meyer

Another merger

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Please change subscription from Anna Niver to Mrs. Anna Zuckerman. Of course we're not the Chase Manhattan or National City Bank, and neither do we have their resources, but in this era of merger and consolidations, we feel that all progressives should in one way or another unite, merge, consolidate, etc., for the struggle ahead. This is our way.

Abe Zuckerman

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AS HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN NOTABLES prepared to celebrate his 83rd birthday Feb. 23 at Essex House in New York City, the U.S. government indicted venerable Dr. William E. B. Du Bois under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The charge: Dr. Du Bois as head of the Peace Information Center was an unregistered "publicity agent" for the Stockholm Peace Petition, which 3,000,000 Americans signed last year. Indicted with him are four others who actively ran the Center, now disbanded.

News of the indictment brought indignant protests from leading Negroes throughout the country. Editor Roscoe Dungee of the Oklahoma City **Black Dispatch** wrote: "The attempt to indict Dr. Du Bois is one of the most shameful acts committed by the government against the Negro people. I have absolutely no belief that Dr. Du Bois is an agent of a foreign government or is in any way connected with a subversive movement."

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, said: "His history has been one of protest but of loyalty."

—From the National Guardian, Feb. 14, 1951

REPORT TO READERS

Ovations for all

SAN FRANCISCO

SAN FRANCISCO LOG: Close to 500 persons filled the floor of California Hall Friday evening, Jan. 27, to mark the GUARDIAN'S 12th year. Paul Sweezy came up from Stanford, where he is a visiting professor in the economics department, to share the platform. He is co-editor of **Monthly Review.** Aubrey Grossman, civil liberties attorney, was chairman, and Malvina Reynolds and Co. provided the songs and music. **Hal Driggs,** husband of the GUARDIAN'S San Francisco representative, Margaret Driggs, gave a most encouraging report on circulation rise in the area and on the college campuses.

Sweezy asked whether the nation might expect a New Deal under Kennedy and ended up with a two-letter answer: No. But he linked question and answer with a cogent review of the American economy and foreign policy and held out hope for progress if public pressure were mobilized effectively.

So many wonderful faces in the audience and hands to shake: Virginia and Clint Jencks, Bill and Sylvia Powell, Holland Roberts; the celebrated cases, the authors, the workers in the vineyard and, especially, the students. A grand meeting and a fine first big effort for the Driggses.

JANUARY 28: An evening at the home of Cindy and Bob Nissen with Harry Bridges and Morris Watson, editor of the **ILWU Dispatcher,** Al Richmond and Steve Murdock of the **People's World,** Mike Gold and William M. Mandel. Much talk about the first hundred days. Bridges unyielding in his dim view of the Kennedy Administration, but conceding that if the new Administration took enough steps to ease international tensions, the American imagination might be caught sufficiently to keep the clock from going back to John Foster Dulles. Everyone talked of Cuba.

JANUARY 29: More than 100 people came out to the meeting at Cotati, in Santa Rosa County, on a rainy-windy night. Chicken ranchers, most of them, and a chance to sample fresh chicken at the table of the Ben Fields' beforehand. Vincent Hallinan came over from Ross to give an inspiring report on Cuba. Albert Kahn in from Glen Ellen to talk up for the care and feeding of the GUARDIAN. John Radu, representing the local folk, as chairman. A most interesting evening, thanks to the Fields and the Cotati committee, plenty of Q and A, and a good collection. A car breakdown provided a pleasant interval: An overnight stay with the Kahns at their home in the Valley of the Moon—Jack London country.

JANUARY 30: A meeting with the GUARDIAN San Francisco committee, seeking to plan events in the coming year, and ways and means to increase circulation. Everyone hopeful and willing. Plans afoot to set up branch committees in Berkeley and Oakland. Hands needed. Call Margaret Driggs: SK 2-5988.

JANUARY 31: Over to Berkeley to make a recording with commentator Sidney Roger at KPFA, the non-commercial radio station, on the American press. A beehive place. Then a visit to the lovely Hallinan home in Ross. Two of the six boys home between college semesters; reports of top grades and top prowess in athletics.

FEBRUARY 1: A most stimulating evening with the students on the Stanford campus at Palo Alto—an audience of 60, including the town folk from surrounding areas. The dominant impression: If the students who fixed dinner for us and came to the meeting represent the new American college student, we can look to the future with real optimism. A dozen new subscriptions.

THE LOS ANGELES STORY: The ballroom of the Alexandria Hotel was packed with more than 500 persons on the night of Feb. 3. A hubbub of voices and greetings all over the hall for an hour and more before the meeting opened. The warmth of good fellowship that comes with belonging to the GUARDIAN family, both on the floor and at the main table lined with the guests of honor: Rube and Madeleine Borough, the Alexanders, who publish the Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch,** a Negro weekly; Lester and Kay Cole; Mrs. Jean Wilkinson of the committee to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee; John Howard Lawson and his wife Sue; Mr. and Mrs. Martin Hall; Philip and Janet Stevenson, and Mr. and Mrs. Shimin Ruskin (he provided a hilarious comic interlude); and attorney Frank Pestano and his wife. An impressive assemblage.

And most impressive of all, the chairman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, with a moving tribute to the GUARDIAN'S 12 years, and an eloquent and pointed commentary on our times.

From China came a tape recording from Anna Louise Strong, sending greetings to her paper and her friends in her home town, and offering an enlightening picture of life in Peking for this distinguished correspondent on the occasion of her own birthday—her 75th.

For the GUARDIAN'S representative in the hall, and for the staff back home, a standing ovation—in reality for a paper which the Rev. Stephen S. Fritchman termed in a message "the most important journalistic gadfly in the Western World." Nor can this report end without an ovation for the GUARDIAN'S Los Angeles representative, Jack Fox, who was largely responsible for the success of the evening.

SO, ON FEB. 6, a flight back to the wintry east—Detroit to be exact, for a final meeting on Feb. 7, and the last leg on the home journey, with a reaffirmation of faith in what we are doing, and in the people who are helping us do it.

—James Aronson

THE REPORT PORTUGAL SUPPRESSED

Signs of revolt in Angola follow Santa Maria surrender

By Kumar Goshal

PORTUGAL'S West African colony of Angola has always been considered immune to the spread of nationalism. But on Feb. 3, in Angola's capital Luanda, there was an armed uprising by Africans who tried unsuccessfully to capture the police station and free political prisoners. Two days later more Africans clashed with the police. There were casualties on both sides.

It was not clear whether the uprisings were inspired by the sensational Jan. 21 seizure of the Portuguese luxury liner **Santa Maria** by the rebel leader Capt. Henrique Malta Galvao, or by the freedom struggle in neighboring Congo. In any case, the New York **Times** (Feb. 5) called the uprisings "the strongest evidence of African nationalism" in Angola.

Galvao had hoped the uprisings would occur simultaneously with the ship's seizure. It was ironic that he surrendered the ship in the Brazilian port of Recife on the day of the first uprising. Afterwards, Galvao and his followers joined Gen. Humberto da Silva Delgado in taking political asylum in Brazil.

Bastian, San Francisco Chronicle

"Well, sir, basing our analysis on the Formosa precedent, I suppose we should recognize the Santa Maria and pretend that Portugal doesn't exist!"

LIBERATED TERRITORY: Delgado has lived as an exile in Sao Paulo, Brazil, since he defied Portugal's dictator Salazar by running for the Presidency in 1958. Lisbon called the ship's capture an act of piracy, but Delgado said: "We are not pirates, we are politicians." Galvao added: "We regard the **Santa Maria** as the first liberated part of national territory."

But before the **Santa Maria** put into Recife, the brutalities of the government of Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar at home and in the colonies came in for a bit of airing in the Western press.

Salazar's NATO allies will undoubtedly ignore, as they have in the past, the revelations about conditions in Portugal and in the colonies it began acquiring as early as the 15th Century, when the Pope divided the world's unclaimed territories between Portugal and Spain. Washington has curried Salazar's favor for keeping available Portugal's long, strategic Atlantic coastline, its colonial resources and the bases it has granted the U.S. in the Azores.

TROOPS ALERTED: The Premier himself took no chances. He tightened the security forces at home and stopped issuing live ammunition to some army units, although his grip on the country was tight enough after 30 years of iron-handed rule. He alerted paratroop battalions outside Lisbon and the 40,000 Portuguese troops in the African colony of Angola, recently augmented by contingents withdrawn from NATO.

Salazar had reason to be cautious. He has balanced the budget and built up Portugal's reputation as a country with a sound economy and a hard currency, but he has achieved it by maintaining the lowest standard of living in Europe and a high rate (nearly 45%) of illiteracy among the Portuguese and by mercilessly exploiting the colonies.

Portuguese colonies supply cotton, sugar, cashew nuts, sisal and other agricultural products, and such minerals as manganese, copper and diamonds. American, British and Belgian capital share in the Angola Diamond Co. The most profitable colonies are Angola (481,000 Sq. miles, population 5,000,000) and Mozambique (297,000 Sq. miles, population, 6,000,000.)

SUPPRESSED REPORT: In 1947 Galvao graphically described the brutal exploitation of African labor in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The report was suppressed and Galvao was imprisoned soon afterward. Last month the London **Observer** obtained a copy of the report from Brazil and printed it on Jan. 29. Such recent eye-witnesses as Basil Davidson and John Gunther have testified that the Africans's conditions today are even worse than what Galvao described 14 years ago.

The report said that the colonial government openly supplied forced labor to mine and plantation owners and took a share of the small pittance the African worker received. The government also collared workers "for its own services"; but "as it ran into shortages" because of the mine and plantation owners' demands, "it frequently resorted to engaging women and the incapacitated." Galvao continued:

"And since local departments were frequently left without the necessary funds to pay wages on time, the government often forced natives to work without salaries, without food, on roads and government farms."

WORSE THAN SLAVERY: As a result, Galvao said, the physical condition of the Africans had deteriorated alarmingly; "mortality rates of 40% among workers were not rare"; infant mortality rate had gone up to 60%; **few Africans** escaped the dread **disease of Bilharzia**, and "the number of **stillborn infants**" increased "frighteningly." **African workers** were fleeing the country in large numbers, Galvao reported, and Portuguese settlers handed government officials "written demands for 'supply of labor'." Galvao added:

"In some respects, the situation is more grave than that created by pure slavery. Under slavery, the bought man, acquired as a head of cattle, was regarded as an asset by his master. He was interested in keeping him healthy and strong and agile in the same way he would look after his horse or bull. Today, the native is not bought—he is simply rented from the government. . . . His master could hardly care less if he falls ill or dies as long as he goes on working while he lives. . . . When he becomes unable to work or when he dies the master can always ask to be supplied with other laborers."

HOW PORTUGAL 'CHRISTIANIZES' ANGOLA
'Only the dead are really exempt from compulsory labor'

Galvao stated that there were laws against the worst abuses but "we all know the contrast between the ideas and principles embodied in the law and the realities of compulsory labor." He concluded: "Only the dead are really exempt from compulsory labor."

CHRISTIANIZATION: Today pregnant women, children and old men are drafted to work on roads with primitive hoes; and both the mine and plantation owners avoid using modern equipment wherever forced human labor can be used. The government gives little in return: in Angola, for instance, there is one hospital for every 280,000 people, one doctor for every 30,000 people, one nurse for every 10,000 people. Illiteracy rate among Africans is over 99%. In 1957 mine and plantation owners and even retailers of gasoline averaged profits of 49% on their capital. After more than 400 years of occupation, Portugal continues to profess that its purpose in the colonies (it calls them overseas territories) has been and is "to Christianize, colonize and civilize [and to make Africans] equal to us."

Africans did not submit docilely to conquest and are far from reconciled to their present fate. It took 300 years of bloody wars and what Galvao called "exterminating operations" to consolidate Portuguese rule over the colonies. Angola lies next to the Congo, Portuguese Guinea next to Mali and Mozambique next to Tanganyika and Nyasaland; many Africans from the Portuguese colonies have escaped into the neighboring territories and have received political training there.

GOOD INFLUENCES: They have been influenced by Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré, and have participated in conferences in Accra and Casablanca. Many are exiles in Britain and have been operating from there for their countries' liberation. During the past two years uprisings in Angola and Mozambique have been suppressed by the government with the utmost ferocity.

The recent uprisings in Angola indicated that Salazar has failed to stifle the Africans' spirit of nationalism. Africans in all Portuguese colonies will undoubtedly be encouraged by the worldwide publicity their cause received by Galvao's seizure of the **Santa Maria**. This publicity was enhanced by Galvao's reference to cooperation with those who are fighting against Spain's dictator Franco.

In a Feb. 2 proclamation Galvao advocated "a profound, authentic human, total revolution" based on "agrarian reform and urban reform." He said that overthrow of the Salazar regime "will open up also overseas the doors of liberty, progress and independence." Delgado himself had told the GUARDIAN'S Cedric Belfrage (Dec. 21, 1959) that freedom for the Portuguese colonies would perhaps be "better for us too. They like olive oil and we need friendly customers for it."

GEN. HUMBERTO DELGADO (C.) TELLS HIS HOPES FOR PORTUGAL
The exiled leader is interviewed by American reporters in Sao Paulo

Appeal to UN for probe of Rockwell's Nazi Party

THE AMERICAN Federation for Aid to Polish Jews has asked a unit of the UN to investigate the National Renaissance Party and its leader, Lincoln Rockwell. The appeal was addressed to Jose D. Ingles, chairman of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

NEW YORK

NATIONAL GUARDIAN PRESENTS

Inside Red China

Film lecture by Robert Cohen

Highly praised, first-hand report on China's "great leap forward"

MON., FEB. 13, 8 P.M.

Hotel Diplomat Grand Ballroom
108 W. 43rd St. Adm. $1.50

National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. OR 3-3800

NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL LOBBIES FOR OIL MAN

Bobby Kennedy keeps Swing, drops Bicks

IN HIS FIRST two weeks in office, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy made three moves likely to upset those who hoped for a change in the nation's immigration policy and an end to special consideration for large oil companies.

Kennedy continued Gen. Joseph M. Swing as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. Swing, a Republican and a West Point classmate of Dwight D. Eisenhower, was appointed in 1953. He has been the center of controversy. He was investigated by the House Government Operations Committee for flying to Mexico on hunting trips on five occasions at taxpayers' expense. He collected per diem expenses from the government during the trips. After the investigation he paid for the trips himself.

Swing has been particularly vindictive in administering the Walter-McCarran Act against political dissenters. He was the object of world-wide protest in 1959 when he arrested William Heikkila in San Francisco and put him on a plane to Finland, without allowing him to contact his wife or lawyer. Swing's explanation was that Heikkila had lost several court appeals and something had to be done to cut through the litigation. A judge ordered Heikkila's return. Heikkila died last May while his case was on appeal.

WALTER'S BOY: Kennedy continued Swing in office on the urging of Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.), House Majority Leader John McCormack (Mass.) and Rep. John Rooney (D-N.Y.).

The New York **Times** (Jan. 28) reported that Thomas M. Cooley 2d, dean of the U. of Pittsburgh Law School, "had been considered the likely choice" to replace Swing. But, the **Times** said, he was opposed by Walter. Dooley had been critical of the Walter-McCarran Act and opposed a Walter bill to limit aliens to one judicial review of deportation orders. Swing endorsed the bill.

Drew Pearson in the Washington **Post** Feb. 2 reported that Atty. Gen. Kennedy made a special trip to the Senate to lobby for the confirmation of John Connally, prominent Texas oil attorney, as Secy. of the Navy. Kennedy called Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) off the floor just before he was to make a speech against Connally. Pearson reported that "Kennedy urged him to reverse his position [and] quoted an FBI report as one reason for doing so."

WHOSE OIL? Proxmire disregarded Kennedy's plea and made a speech arguing that an oilman who favored turning over government oil lands to private business was not qualified to handle the Navy's oil reserves.

At the same time, Kennedy allowed Robert Bicks to retire as head of the Justice Dept.'s anti-trust division. At Kennedy's nomination hearing, Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) urged him to continue Bicks in office. Bicks, a Republican, had been helpful to Kefauver's Anti-trust and Monopoly subcommittee.

Bicks earned enemies among Democrats and Republicans for his attacks on oil and gas monopolies. He angered some Republicans for his prosecution of the Peoples' Gas Co., represented by Thomas E. Dewey.

In September, 1959, Bicks told Joint Economic Committee hearings: "The oil industry furnishes the most remarkable illustration of a tendency toward exemption from the anti-trust law by action of the executive branch.

"The most striking recent exercise of executive discretion to dipense with competition was in the case of the Iranian oil cartel where, without legislative authority, five leading American oil companies were permitted to join with dominant foreign interests in the greatest international oil cartel the world has ever seen."

GEN. JOSEPH M. SWING
Still in business

Pearson added: "Last summer, Democratic oil and gas Senators blocked Bicks' confirmation as Assistant Attorney General."

State of the Union

(Continued from Page 1)

phere can never be negotiated."

Comment abroad was almost universally laudatory. West Europeans were pleased because they saw signs on new and vigorous leadership from Washington in the grand alliance.

Moscow Radio emphasized the positive. It said that "Kennedy makes it clear that he favors an open and peaceful competition." Peking was less impressed but found "some gestures for peace." But **Hsinhua**, the Chinese news agency, added that the "keynote of U.S. foreign policy is to step up arms expansion and war preparations, and intensify economic and cultural aggression." **Hsinhua** headed its story: "Olive branch in his right hand and bundle of arrows in his left."

EACH TO HIS OWN: Analysts at home singled out the branch or the arrows, depending on their own preference. The liberal **New Republic** said that the speech "more than momentarily invigorated our sluggish national reflexes. It has signaled the start of a disciplined exercise of leadership on a multitude of challenging fronts."

Conservative David Lawrence in the New York **Herald Tribune** found the President's phrase on Soviet and Chinese "ambitions for world domination" the "most important in the whole address." Lawrence said that it "transcends all others in the address" and "it will go a long way toward removing fears that the new Administration will try to appease our potential enemy."

From Washington, the New York **Times'** James Reston reported that "the feeling here was that while he was going to talk softer than the Administration he replaced, he was going to act tougher, and spend more in strengthening the nation to meet the Communist challenges."

The liberal New York **Post** recognized that some might say that President Kennedy "is adroitly being all things to all men." But it insisted that the contradiction between the olive branch and the arrows "is more apparent than real."

The **Post** argued that "no American President in this anguished time can lightly dismiss the problem of defense . . . What is important is that Mr. Kennedy has begun to challenge and change the whole nature of our national thinking. He is deftly debunking the notion that 'negotiation' is a dirty word . . . He is affirming the idea of debate and dissent."

ECONOMIC TROUBLE: There could be little dissent from President Kennedy's description of the state of the economy as "disturbing." He said: "We take office in the wake of seven months of recession, three and a half years of slack, seven years of diminished economic growth, and nine years of falling farm income."

As a start toward reversing the recession he promised to ask Congress for legislation to aid the hardest hit. He also called for Federal aid to education and medical care for the aged under Social Security.

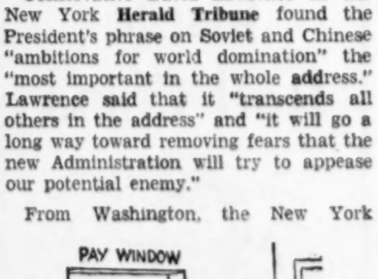
But he added: "It is my current intention to advocate a program of expenditures which, including revenues from a stimulation of the economy, will not of and by themselves unbalance the earlier budget." Of the gold crisis he said: "Whatever is required will be done to back up all our efforts abroad and to make certain that . . . the dollar is 'as sound as a dollar.'"

WALL STREET SUPPORT: All sides cheered the economic section of the message. The stock market rose. Donald Rogers in his New York **Herald Tribune** column, "Wall Street, U.S.A." said: "There can be little doubt that Kennedy is emerging as a popular man. The solid front of conservatism in the financial district has been pierced by his deliberate appeal for support." Rogers said that in Wall Street the President's pledge of a greater defense effort "instantly was interpreted to mean much greater defense spending, something which will stimulate the industrial side of the economy." Rogers concluded: "The big switch is on. Wall Street's now behind Kennedy."

Some who feared that the President would offer a New Deal-type pump-priming program were pleasantly surprised at his "moderation." Roscoe Drummond in the Washington **Post** said: "I found it hard to escape the feeling . . . that President Kennedy is a man of far greater moderation in action than he is in words . . . It strikes me that the real confrontation is between the Kennedy words of urgency and the Kennedy program of moderation."

Business Week reported: "It is evident that for a while at least he will be considerably more cautious than some of his advisers had expected. In the clash of ideas and suggestions that have been urged upon him, the more moderate seem to have won his approval."

IT MIGHT BE A "RECESSION" TO SOME. . . .
But it's a depression to these unemployed in Johnson City, Ill., who line up for government surplus food parcels. More than 4,000 persons—10% of the work force—are unemployed in Franklin County.



"They call it take-home pay because there's no other place you can afford to go with it!"

A parting gesture

IN ONE of its last acts before Robert Kennedy took over as Attorney General, the Eisenhower Dept. of Justice filed a complaint against Louisiana businessmen in a civil rights case. They were charged with intimidating a Negro farmer who testified on voting restrictions before the Civil Rights Commission last September.

The complaint said that one group of Louisianans had refused to gin the Negro's cotton and another group had refused to trade with him. The farmer, Francis J. Atlas, had told the Commission that he thought he was eligible to vote. He had attended Tuskegee high school for three years and has lived in East Carroll Parish most of his life.

The Justice Dept. said that in East Carroll 2,845 of 3,220 whites of voting age are registered to vote, while none of the county's 5,330 eligible Negroes are registered. The Civil Rights Commission is scheduled to resume its hearings on the purges of Negro voters from voting lists in Louisiana in March.

Heikkila memorial journal issued in San Francisco

THE WILLIAM HEIKKILA Memorial Journal, just published by the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, traces the life story of the man whose forcible deportation to Finland on April 18, 1959, was denounced by a Federal judge as "Gestapo" tactics. The U.S. Immigration Service ordered him flown back for further consideration of his case, but Heikkila died on May 7 last year while his case was still pending before the Board of Immigration Appeals.

The Journal also contains articles by prominent attorneys on the McCarran-Walter law and on current deportation and denaturalization cases. Copies are available for $1 from the Northern California Committee, Room 417, 948 Market St., San Francisco.

Negro History Week, 1961

DR. DU BOIS LOOKS AHEAD

American Negroes and Africa's rise to freedom

By Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

IN THE UNITED STATES in 1960 there were some 17,000,000 persons of African descent. In the 18th Century they had regarded Africa as their home to which they would eventually return when free. They named their institutions "African" and started migration to Africa as early as 1815. But the American Negroes were soon sadly disillusioned: first, their immigrants to Liberia found that Africans did not regard them as Africans; and then it became clear by 1830 that colonization schemes were a device to rid America of free Africans so as to fasten slavery more firmly to support the cotton kingdom.

Negroes therefore slowly turned to a new ideal: to strive for equality as American citizens, determined that when Africa needed them, they would be equipped to lead them into civilization. Meantime, however, African Negroes learned from their environment to think less and less of their fatherland and its folk. They learned little of its history or its present conditions. They began to despise the colored races along with white Americans and to acquiesce in color prejudice.

GHANA'S KWAME NKRUMAH
"Africans show the way to freedom"

From 1825 to 1860 the American Negro went through hell. He yelled in desperation as the Slave Power tried to make the whole union a slave nation and then to extend its power over the West Indies; he became the backbone of the Abolition movement; he led thousands of fugitives to freedom; he died with John Brown and made the North victorious in the Civil War. For a few years he led democracy in the South until a new and powerful capitalism disfranchised him by 1876.

MEANTIME A GREAT CHANGE was sweeping the earth. Socialism was spreading: first in theory and experiment for a half century and then at last in 1917 in Russia where a communist state was founded. The world was startled and frightened. The U.S. joined 16 other nations to prevent this experiment which all wise men said would fail miserably in a short time. But it did not fail. It defended its right to try a new life, and staggering on slowly but surely, began to prove to all who would look that communism could exist and prosper.

What effect did this have on American Negroes? By this time their leaders had become patriotic Americans, imitating white Americans almost without criticism. If Americans said that communism had failed, then it had failed. And this of course Americans did say and repeat. Big Business declared communism a crime and communists and socialists criminals. Some Americans and some Negroes did not believe this; but they lost employment or went to jail.

Meantime, many thoughtful white Americans, fearing the advance of socialism and communism not only in Europe but in America under the "New Deal," conceived a new tack. They said the American color line cannot be held in the face of communism. It is quite possible that we can help beat communism if in America we begin to loosen if not break the color line.

THE MOVEMENT started and culminated in a Supreme Court decision which was a body blow to color discrimination, and certainly if enforced would take the wind out of the sails of critics of American democracy.

To the Negroes the government said, it will be a fine thing now if you tell foreigners that our Negro problem is settled; and in such case we can help with your expenses of travel. A remarkable number of Negroes of education and standing found themselves able to travel and testify that American Negroes now had no complaints.

Then came three disturbing facts: (1) The Soviet Union was forging ahead in education and science and it drew no color line. (2) Outside the Soviet Union, in England, France, and all West Europe especially Scandinavia, socialism was spreading: state housing, state ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, subways, buses and other public facilities; social medicine, higher education, old age care, insurance and many other sorts of relief; even in the U.S., the New Deal was socialism no matter what it was called. (3) The former slave South had no intention of obeying the Supreme Court. To the Bourbon South it was said, don't worry; the law will not be enforced for a decade if not a century. Most Negroes still cannot vote, their schools are poor and the black workers are exploited, diseased and at the bottom of the economic pile. Trade unions north as well as south still discriminate against black labor. But finally a new and astonishing event was the sudden rise of Africa.

MY OWN STUDY had for a long time turned toward Africa. I planned a series of charts in 1900 for the Paris Exposition, which gained a Grand Prize. I attended a Pan-African conference in London and was made secretary of the meeting and drafted its resolutions.

In 1911 the Ethical Culture Societies of the world called a races congress in

A MODERN UNIVERSITY IN ACCRA, GHANA
Africa produced its own freedom leaders

London and made Felix Adler and me secretaries for America. In 1915 I published my first book on African history and there was much interest and discussion. In 1919 I planned a Pan-African Congress, but got little support. Blaise Diagne of Senegal, whose volunteers had saved France from the first onslaught of the Germans in World War I, induced Clemenceau to allow the Congress despite the opposition of the U.S. and Britain. It was a small meeting, but it aroused a West African Congress the next year which was the beginning of independence for Ghana and Nigeria.

In 1921 I called a second Pan-African Congress to meet in London, Paris and Brussels. This proved a large and influential meeting, with delegates from the whole Negro world. The wide publicity it gained led to the organization of congresses in many parts of Africa by the natives. Our attempt to form a permanent organization located in Paris was betrayed but I succeeded in assembling a small meeting in London and Lisbon in 1923. I tried a Fourth Congress in Tunis but France forbade it. At last in 1927 I called the Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York. It was fairly well attended by American Negroes but few Africans. Then the Second World War approached and the work was interrupted.

MEANWHILE METHODS changed and ideas expanded. Africans themselves began to demand more voice in colonial government and the Second World War had made their cooperation so necessary to Europe that at the end actual and unexpected freedom for African colonies was in sight.

Moreover there miraculously appeared Africans able to take charge of these governments. American Negroes of former generations had always calculated that when Africa was ready for freedom, American Negroes would be ready to lead them. But the event was quite opposite. The African leaders proved to be Africans, some indeed educated in the United States, but most of them trained in Europe and in Africa itself. American Negroes for the most part showed neither the education nor the aptitude for the magnificent opportunity which was suddenly offered. Indeed, it now seems that Africans may have to show American Negroes the way to freedom.

The rise of Africa in the last 15 years has astonished the world Even the most doubting of American Negroes have suddenly become aware of Africa and its possibilities and particularly of the relation of Africa to the American Negro. The first reaction was typically American. Since 1910 American Negroes had been fighting for equal opportunity in the United States. Indeed Negroes soon faced a curious paradox.

Now equality began to be offered: but in return for equality, Negroes must join American business in its domination of African cheap labor and free raw materials. The educated and well-to-do Negroes would have a better chance to make money if they would testify that Negroes were not discriminated against and join in American red-baiting.

American Negroes began to appear in Africa, seeking chances to make money and testifying to Negro progress. In many cases their expenses were paid by the State Department. Meantime Negro American colleges ceased to teach socialism and the Negro masses believed with the white masses that communism is a crime and all socialists conspirators.

AFRICANS KNOW BETTER. They have not yet all made up their minds what side to take in the power contest between East and West but they recognize the accomplishments of the Soviet Union and the rise of China.

Meantime American Negroes in their segregated schools and lack of leadership have no idea of this world trend. The effort to give them equality has been overemphasized and some of our best scholars and civil servants have been bribed by the State Department to testify abroad and especially in Africa of the success of

capitalism in making the American Negro free. Yet it was British capitalism which made the African slave trade the greatest commercial venture in the world; and it was American slavery that raised capitalism to its domination in the 19th Century and gave birth to the Sugar Empire and the Cotton Kingdom. It was new capitalism which nullified Abolition and keeps us in serfdom.

The Africans know this. They have in many cases lived in America. They have in other cases been educated in the Soviet Union and even in China. They will make up their own minds on communism and not listen solely to American lies. The latest voice to reach them is from Cuba.

Would it not be wise for American Negroes themselves to read a few books and do a little thinking for themselves? It is not that I would persuade Negroes to become communists, capitalists or holy rollers; but whatever belief they reach, let it for God's sake be a matter of reason and not of ignorance, fear, and selling their souls to the devil.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM'S LAST WRITTEN WORK

The cry is still how long, O Lord, how long?

When the following commentary appeared in the GUARDIAN in the issue of Feb. 15, 1960, it was titled "Not new ground, but rights once dearly won." On Feb. 12, 1960, between the time the article was set in type and the paper's publication date, the author, Louis E. Burnham of the GUARDIAN staff, was stricken while addressing a public meeting in New York City on Negro History Week and died in the emergency room of a nearby hospital. He was 44. We reprint Louis Burnham's last written work not only in his honor but also because so little of the ground toward equal and undifferentiated citizenship, of which he wrote so penetratingly last year, has been regained in the year since his death. The struggle in which Louis Burnham expended his life must rise above all other concerns in the conscience of America, until the human quest for equality has been won.

By Louis E. Burnham

ONE HUNDRED YEARS would seem time enough and more for so rich and strong a nation as ours to redeem the promise of freedom made to an unoffending people it once held as slaves. That the promise was sealed in torrents of blood in the most bitter of wars could not but help, in ordinary circumstances, to guarantee its fulfillment. Yet the Negro today, while not a slave, is far from free, and none dares say how long, O Lord, how long before he shall cross the bar to equal and undifferentiated citizenship.

In Birmingham he may not rest for the night at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel or even the most modest white hostelry. He may view the zoo animals in Memphis on Thursday, but no other day. In one city he may collect white men's garbage but not patrol their streets. In another he may be a policeman (provided he arrests only his "kind") but not a fireman (no matter whose house is burning). In some places he may deliver the mail but not sort it, while in others he may dig and pave the sidewalks but not build a house where a union card is required.

In great areas of the South his vote is restricted or entirely denied. Whenever he leaves one city for another, North or South, he does so with some trepidation, knowing that in some areas he may journey for hundreds of miles without assurance of even the meanest of accommodations and with the practical certainty of insult or assault should he request them

YET, WHEN IN HIS ANGUISH and his anger he cries out, "Enough!" the rulers of the nation answer: "Time! Give us but more time to right our fathers' wrongs. Do not doubt we have the will: only give us time to find the way." President Eisenhower speaks, whenever he talks of Negroes at all, of the slow and tedious work to be done in changing men's hearts. Not that he has ever opened his mouth to challenge the racist to take his heel off the Negro's neck. What seems important to him is that we should never forget how difficult it is to persuade white men to accept Negroes

as their equals.

A score of Senators echo this contention and assorted social soothsayers justify their complacency by reference to progress already made. Negroes were once 90% illiterate, they point out; now more than 90% of them read and write. Only a generation ago they were bunched on Southern peonage farms in abject poverty and misery; now two-thirds of all Negroes are city dwellers, the majority of their laborers are industrial workers and 1,500,000 of them are in unions.

Some few have become capitalists in insurance, banking, publishing and service industries and the Government is attaching the estate of one of their late cult leaders with a $6,000,000 tax lien. They are developing a consequential middle class; a few of their scholars even teach white youth, and the Negro intellectual today is a far cry from the unsophisticated ex-slaves who thronged academies and "colleges" during Reconstruction to study "a little Latin and a little less Greek."

PROGRESS, WE ARE cautioned, has been slow but sure and it will surely continue. Patience is needed, not agitation; rather than carping criticism, faith that democracy as it unfolds will spread its largess to the Negro, too.

There is a seeming plausibility in this reasoning and perhaps a majority of Americans accept it as a kind of gospel. Even some Negroes, themselves relatively comfortable, are disinclined to rock the boat or embarrass the nation in the eyes of a watching world.

But the argument is false and its consequences can be calamitous to the cause of Negro freedom. It is false on three counts.

First, much of what Negroes fight for today is not to gain new ground but to restore positions once dearly won and foully taken away. Four Negroes sit in Congress to speak for Northern constituencies, but not one from any of the Southern states which sent 22 Negroes to the House and Senate during Reconstruction and the Populist bid for power. For a brief time in our history more Negroes sat in the South Carolina legislature than now sit in all the legislatures of the 50 states. In 1896 the Negro vote in North Carolina was 120,000; today, though the Negro population of the state has tre-

LOUIS E. BURNHAM
'Come, brothers, let us walk together and build together'

bled and women have won the franchise, Negro registration there stands at 150,000.

IS THIS PROGRESS? No, it is confirmation of a central lesson of Negro history: that the advance toward equality has not been a straight path, but a dreary zigzag road; that the nation has undertaken to insure justice to the Negro only in fits and starts, but not with sustained enthusiasm for the project; that it has time and again let the slightest pretext turn it aside from the work at hand.

The lesson is there to learn. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson, the founder of Negro History Week, made it plain in their writings many years ago. Younger historians — Herbert Aptheker, John Hope Franklin, C. Vann Woodward—have underscored it in more recent works.

Are we then, in the thick of a second Reconstruction, as Georgia's Sen. Herman Talmadge recently complained in a protest against civil rights laws? Or have the forces of reaction already turned the tide toward restoration of their power to treat the Negro as their will or whim dictates? It may not be possible to tell, but this much is certain: the pace of progress has been slowed; the expectations of easy victory which sanguine men entertained on the heels of the 1954 Supreme Court decision have given way to a more sober estimate of the magnitude of the battle and the strength of the enemy; and Thurgood Marshall's year-end statement that all that remains in the legal fight against segregation is a "mopping up" process and "a little fast play around second base" was even more false than trite.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE in its annual survey of race relations in the South, came closer to the truth: "Race relations did not change appreciably in 1959. Despite the urgency of America's aspirations to promote peace . . . there was—on balance—little compelling evidence that America itself was able . . . to advance human understanding significantly within its own boundaries."

Nine Negro children entered Little Rock's Central High School in 1957. Today there are only five in former all-white schools. For two thousand others, segregation with all its deprivations is as much a fact of life as if the Supreme Court had never ruled against it. In Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and Texas massive resistance has given way to token integration, a tactic of resistance through "compliance."

Far from having assurance of victory in the fight for Negro rights, on every front the biggest battles lie ahead. But aside from this, the argument of those who would have the Negro "go slow" in light of former progress is false because it sees progress in absolute, but not in relative terms. To be sure, Negroes have moved from Southern farms to Northern cities, but whites have moved to exclusive suburbs in droves, leaving Negroes rotting slums. And a new set of problems —Northern jimcrow, rising crime rates, persistent social disorganization, official neglect and abuse—have risen to take the place of the older, more typically Southern outrages.

THE NEGRO can count his progress only as he closes the gap which separates him from his fellow citizens in opportunity and accomplishment. In good times and bad, unemployment among Negro workers remains twice as high as among whites. A recent government study revealed that of the 32,200,000 poorest family units of the nation, 6,400,000, or one-fifth, were Negro, though Negroes are but one-tenth of the population. And these 6,400,000 families constituted more than a third of all Negro families in the nation.

The complaint is not that the Negro has stood still these past 100 years, but that he has not been able to close the gap. To do this he must move faster than others, not merely apace with them; he must have legal and social protections which others take for granted. This is the essence of the fight for "Negro" or "civil" rights. One way to accomplish this might be for the Government to indemnify its Negro citizens for the two-and-a-half centuries of slave labor exacted from their forebears' sweat and blood. The cost, while considerable, would be less than the price of a modern war and the rewards would be infinitely more worthwhile.

THE THIRD FALLACY rises from a misunderstanding of the nature of the human quest for equality. One man cannot be more or less equal than another. One concession to a righteous demand merely provokes another demand, for the thirst for freedom grows on what it feeds on. The nation's task must be, then, not to discourage the Negro's demand for rights, but to grant them now and fully, even though doing so requires that the nation painfully revise its political and social structure. The change can only be for the better.

And the Negro's task must be to demand and fight for his rights no matter what the consequences. This becomes increasingly difficult to do in a prosperous time when the nation is conditioned by social "conflicts" in which nobody gets hurt. Even so staunch a fighter for equality as a veteran NAACP attorney of Atlanta recently told an Emancipation meeting that while Negroes "cannot compromise or retreat from their insistence upon equality under law" they are willing to work with others to determine the best means of equality "without any real detriment to any segment of our citizenry."

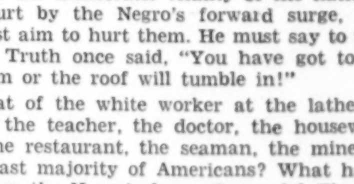
THE ATTORNEY MEANS WELL but is wrong. Negroes must never be content with only such rights as will not inconvenience anybody else. Their freedom is going to hurt somebody; otherwise their continued oppression would be inexplicable. What is encouraging about the prospect is that those who stand to suffer by the Negro's gain, though powerful, are but a numerically miniscule part of the whole American nation.

They take profit from the differential in the Negro's wages—profits measured in billions of dollars. Out of his disfranchisement they enjoy political preferment. On the basis of his social degradation they build a mannered aristocracy, pleasant to themselves but repugnant to the democratic vitality of the nation. They will be hurt by the Negro's forward surge, and the Negro must aim to hurt them. He must say to them, as Sojourner Truth once said, "You have got to give us house room or the roof will tumble in!"

But what of the white worker at the lathe and on the farm, the teacher, the doctor, the housewife; the cook in the restaurant, the seaman, the miner in the pit—the vast majority of Americans? What have they to lose from the Negro's forward march? Their prejudices? Yes. Their false sense of superiority? Yes. But, oh, how much to gain; nothing less than a new nation to gain.

The Negro must say to them: Come, brothers, let us hold hands and walk together; let us build together, on the foundation of my freedom, a new nation dedicated to the proposition affirmed at Gettysburg and waiting these many years for us to make it real.

That can be the Negro's greatest gift to this great nation.



To provide for the well-being of his family and the education of his four children, The Louis E. Burnham Fund was established last year with Shirley Graham Du Bois, John T. McManus and George B. Murphy Jr. as trustees. Continuing contributions are welcome and may be sent to the Fund, c/o GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

1960: PSYCHOLOGICAL TURNING POINT, NORTH AND SOUTH

Sit-ins blew new life into fight for civil rights

We got to go to the promised land. And if you're not going, for God's sake don't you hinder me.
—Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, President, Montgomery, Ala., Improvement Assn.

By Joanne Grant

FREEDOM WINDS in the South in the last year blew over some of the outrageous aspects of the Southern way of life and, more significantly, blew away some of the cobwebs in the Southern way of thinking.

The lunch counter sit-in of four Negro students in Greensboro, N.C., on Feb. 1, 1960, started a movement which startled the world, jolted Negro adult leaders and caught the imagination of young people, North and South, white and Negro. As the movement spread, it shattered the canard that the Negro was content with segregation. The number of Southern whites who can say that "our nigras don't want to change" is rapidly diminishing.

The sit-ins also made it clear that Negroes want equal rights **now**. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said: "On the time-table of the world, tomorrow is today." Rev. Abernathy said: "Not in the next 100 years or the next generation; not next year, or next quarter; not even next month or next week; not day after tomorrow or even tomorrow morning, we want our freedom now."

SOUL FORCE: To the Negro this is not undue haste. The students' sit-in movement signalled avowal of the end of the Negro's patience. Gradualism was too gradual, the deliberate speed of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision had too much deliberation and too little speed.

When the white South recovered from the first shock of the Greensboro sit-in, it tried to fight the succeeding ones in Montgomery, Birmingham, Nashville and Orangeburg with traditional methods. But it fought in an old way—intimidation by armed police and posses—against a new kind of attack. The police rounded up demonstrators—putting 350 in Orangeburg in a stockade—but the students were prepared to face jail. Their rallying cry became "fill the jails."

How to fight back against such words as those of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr? "We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force . . . We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

BOYCOTT WORKS: While the students were learning to organize their movement, the segregationists were rallying their defenses. White merchants closed their lunch counters, police stood by while hoodlums beat Negro demonstrators. Heads of state-supported Negro colleges were pressured and student demonstrators and faculty supporters were dismissed. But the sit-ins had given heart to the Negro community, and successful boycotts of stores with segregated lunch counters brought victories in some cities. Supporting demonstrations and boycotts were organized all over the country. Last fall four national chains—Woolworth, Kress, Grant and McCrory—announced that lunch counters had been desegregated in their stores in 114 cities.

Whites tried to dissuade the Negro students through the adult Negro leadership—the old leadership, the conciliatory leadership, the gradualists. But the Negro students weren't ready to assume the patient attitude, and the adults were swept along. Some went willingly, but some still cautioned: go slow. Most were carried by the force of the community which said to the youth: "We're with the young people. They'll lead and we'll follow."

WHITE YOUTH RALLY: The movement had an impact on other segments of the population as well. Young people in the

MRS. RUTH TINSLEY WAS A BYSTANDER AT A SIT-IN IN RICHMOND, VA.
The K-9 police officer (r.) is the one with two legs

North not only supported the Southern sit-ins, but were also inspired to activity in other areas. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, said in the New York **Times Magazine** Jan. 29: "The moral leadership of the new generation was established by the Negro students in the South, who quietly and courageously began to assert their rights with the sit-in strikes at lunch counters. . . . Their example touched the moral imagination of white fellow students who formed groups to support their effort." In addition, the Northern students began to protest such things as the loyalty oath of the National Defense Education Act and compulsory ROTC. They launched vigorous campaigns to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to ban nuclear testing. They became active in national politics with enthusiastic demonstrations for the nomination of Adlai Stevenson and they took President Kennedy seriously when he proposed a Youth Peace Corps to work in underdeveloped countries rather than serve in the armed forces.

A POLITICAL FORCE: The effect was evident, too, in the Presidential election. Endorsement of the sit-ins in the major party platforms and the intervention of the Kennedy family to help secure the release of Rev. King from a Georgia prison were tangible evidence of the importance of civil rights in 1960.

More important, the Negro vote generally was conceded to have been the difference between victory and defeat. This put civil rights near the top of the new President's agenda. Negro leadership reacted to this new importance of the Negro vote by insisting on executive action for civil rights. Rev. King called on President Kennedy to use the influence of his office on Congress. He and others insisted that the **moral** authority of the Presidency be exerted.

First and foremost, King said, there must be recognition of the potentials of Federal power to effect civil rights. Second, there must be recognition of the moral obligation of government to solve the problem. Further, in answer to charges that solutions such as housing quotas are reverse discrimination, King said equality is not enough. The Negro must be given special treatment to enable him to leap the gap from backwardness to competence.

In testimony to the movement of which he is the symbol, Rev. King wrote in the **Nation:** "Thousands of courageous students sitting peacefully at lunch counters can do more to arouse the Administration to positive action than all the verbal and written commentaries on governmental laxity put together."

A PROGRAM: On Jan. 30 the Southern Regional Council put its case for Federal action. In addition to appealing for executive orders to stop discrimination in Federally-supported housing, in Federal employment, in apprenticeship training, in inter- and intra-state transportation and in the awarding of government contracts, the council called for:

- A President-appointed staff adviser on race relations (King demanded a Secretary of Integration.)
- Use of the influence of the President's office to broaden Southern support for civil rights.
- Presidential affirmation of support of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision and tests by the Dept. of Justice of its authority to intervene in or initiate desegregation suits.
- Presidential sponsorship of a national voter registration drive, supported by the wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

The Civil Rights Commission in a report issued Jan. 15 submitted massive evidence of the Federal government's culpability in maintaining segregation. The commission recommended that: (1) the Federal government insure that Federal aid be given only to institutions which do not discriminate; (2) Congress consider the advisability of limiting the time of civil rights litigation by authorizing the use of three-judge courts with direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court; and (3) the Federal government sponsor, upon request from the states, educational programs to assist public school teachers and students who are handicapped professionally as a result of inferior educational opportunity and training.

COURTS HELP TOO: Despite the overwhelming significance of mass nonviolent direct action, the courts have helped considerably in the Negro struggle. In the New Orleans public school integration fight a Federal judge time and again sustained the school board's compliance with his integration order and struck down the state legislature's segregation laws. A district court also was decisive in the final admission of two Negro students to the University of Georgia after they had been driven from the campus by a mob and suspended from the university.

The U.S. Supreme Court made two important decisions during the year: one struck down the redistricting of Tuskegee, Ala., to exclude Negroes from the voting rolls; the other held that the Interstate Commerce Act prohibits segregation of interstate bus passengers in bus terminal restaurants.

Soon to be tested are anti-trespass laws used to prohibit sit-in demonstrations. The court will hear a case in which 15 sit-in students in Baton Rouge, La., were arrested for disturbing the peace.

At issue is whether or not a state may use its power to compel racial segregation in a private establishment and to stifle protests against segregation.

VIRGINIA CASE: Most important is the appeal of 125 persons to a three-judge Federal Court in a challenge of a Virginia anti-trespass law. The demonstrators ranged in age from 11 to 68. Sixty-four were arrested in a drug store in Hopewell, 55 in a Trailways bus terminal restaurant in Petersburg and six in Lynchburg. They held that downtown lunch counters are part of the community and that the owner of a public restaurant is bound by the Constitutional rights of the public, particularly the 14th Amendment. Further, they said, even if it is ruled that restaurants are private, the state cannot enforce private racial discrimination. The case has been argued and a decision is expected soon. If it is against the demonstrators, it will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

But whatever the Supreme Court may say in this and in future cases, courts alone cannot provide equal treatment. The Negro struggle of 1960 has used three approaches: sit-ins, the courts, and the economic boycott. Taken together the three produced some marked results. Most significant were the unifying of the Negro community and the impulse to action given young people.

HAD ENOUGH: Still Negroes ride at the back of the bus, heed the admonitions of "white only" signs, stay out of first class hotels and restaurants all over the South. In many other places as well, they are the last hired and first fired. Only about 25% of the Negroes in the South eligible to vote are registered, and in many counties not a single Negro has voted since Reconstruction. More than 700 persons have been evicted from their homes in one county, Fayette, Tenn., for having registered to vote.

Herblock, Washington Post
"Us collidge kids got to have more pep rallies."

Even among well-meaning whites who help to form bi-racial committees to solve racial problems the sickness of segregation has not yet been healed. The Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations, for example, in its report said: "Traditionally, our local white attitudes toward the Negro population are warm and paternal, but like many natural parents, local whites are reluctant to recognize the fact that each year large numbers of Negroes achieve real and substantial maturity. The failure to recognize this fact, as with natural children, produces unhealthy frustrations."

But the point of real change may be reached sooner than the Birmingham Council's statement indicates. Harold Fleming, director of the Southern Regional Council, said: "Just as the Supreme Court decision was the legal turning point, the sit-ins are the psychological turning point in race relations in the South. This is the first step to real change—when the whites realize that the Negroes just aren't having it any more."

BOOKS

Colonialism excused

WORLD ATTENTION today is firmly focused on Africa. Here, colonialism is making its last-ditch stand, fighting its bitterest fights to turn back the clock of history. Here, millions of people are making a determined effort to bridge the gap of centuries in decades, to leap from tribal life into modern nationhood. During Negro history week, it is appropriate to note that the freedom already achieved by several African colonies has encouraged the struggle of the American Negro for full equality.

Inevitably, there has been a flood of books on Africa, presenting viewpoints as various as the interests in conflict in the world's second largest continent.

Among them is a two-volume study, **Tropical Africa.*** It is impressively bulky: two big volumes, 1,110 pages in all, with charts, maps, photographs and an index. Its typography is pleasing and the dust jackets are attractive.

Its author is George H. T. Kimble, formerly director of the American Geographical Society and presently chairman of the Dept. of Geography, Indiana University. Kimble made three trips to Africa to gather fresh material for this study. He had the assistance of 46 contributors and six consultants.

New Age, New Delhi, India

". . . And remember, it took us 3,000 years to build our white civilization."

The two volumes cover the territory south of the Sahara and north of the Union of South Africa. It was seven years in the making with the backing of the Twentieth Century Fund which is also the publisher. Written in an ingratiating style, it intrigues the reader despite its inordinate length.

AT FIRST GLANCE, the book seems to be an objective study of the lives of the Africans in ancient and modern times. Volume I is subtitled Land and Livelihood; volume II, Society and Polity. The first reaction after finishing the book is one of frustration and bewilderment.

Kimble describes in great detail the land and its features, the varieties of climate, the mineral and potential water power resources. He devotes a vast amount of space in stressing the tribal and linguistic differences among the Africans, presenting a picture of apparently irreconcilable divisions among more than 600 tribes. He touches only briefly on African society and culture before the coming of the Europeans—a society and culture so excitingly described by such writers as Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Maurice Delafosse and Basil Davidson.

The author's version of how and why European powers carved out colonies in Africa is highly ingenious. European "interest" in Africa in the 19th Century, Kimble writes, "'appears to have been inspired less by colonial ambition than by humanitarian sentiment." According to him, Western explorers went into Africa really to discover the sources of supply of the slave trade in order to destroy it.

KIMBLE ADDS: "From these explorations came, first, the realization that . . . the native people were living in 'the jaws of darkness' outside the broad stream of human progress; and, second, the belief that, given stable and humane governments, the greater part of their territory could be developed to the mutual profit of both the developed and the developer. . . . And so the whole region of tropical Africa, with the exception of the already sovereign Liberia and Ethiopia, came to be staked out among the major European powers, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy."

There is no mention of Belgian King Leopold's brutal rule over the Congo, which took a toll of at least 8,000,000 Congolese lives in less than three decades or of the years of "war of pacification" conducted by Portugal and Britain. To be sure he does mildly mention—in no more than two paragraphs—that acquisition of colonies did on occasion involve fraud and that labor was sometimes recruited by methods resembling slavery; but he hastily qualifies it:

"All the same, the early accomplishments of the colonizing powers were far from negligible. . . . Their work may not always have been as wise as it was kind, nor as kind as it was sincere, but it wrought a mighty transformation in the land nonetheless."

KIMBLE THEN LAUNCHES into praise for the colonizers. "By 1900," he writes," "roads and railways had been built, steamers had begun to ply the larger lakes and rivers, postal and telegraph services were in operation and the staggering task of making the African tropics a more rewarding setting for both indigenous and European enterprise was well begun."

He generously concedes that "some of these early colonial accomplishments were more substantial than others, and some regions had more to show than others." But he has an explanation for this: "This was almost bound to be the case in a country so uneven in endowment and opportunity. . . . The patchiness of the early accomplishments of the colonizers was also due in part to the unevenness of the human material with which they worked. The Yoruba of Nigeria were from the beginning the readiest of all learners [while] the 'pagans' of central Nigeria . . . showed very little interest in updating their economy or their social customs."

A MOTHER AND HER CHILD COLLAPSE ON A CONGO ROAD

But to Dr. Kimble the Belgians 'were remarkable for their humanitarianism'

In the light of the dramatic exposure of the condition in which Belgium extended a fraudulent independence to the Congo and the very recent seizure of the luxury liner **Santa Maria** by rebels which revealed the rot in Portugal and its colonies, Kimble's special praise for Belgian and Portuguese colonial policies has a strangely antique quality.

HE GIVES a glowing picture of the Congo thriving after the Belgian government "took over its direction in 1908." "The economic programs undertaken by them," he writes, "were remarkable as much for their humanitarianism as their foresight. . . . Thanks to the prosperity that came to the Congo, especially after World War II, there was no shortage of funds with which to underwrite the costs of the government's social program. Instead of having to inquire, 'How much will it cost?' administrators were in the happy, almost unique position of being able to ask, 'What do we need?'

"By the end of 1959 the accomplishments were already very great, however assessed. [They included] fine schools, hospitals, welfare centers, dispensaries, fully equipped housing developments, recreation halls and sports facilities. . . ." Oddly enough, when the storm broke and Western correspondents flocked to the Congo, they could find no qualified Congolese doctors, lawyers, teachers and few college graduates; the picture they found was of a colony milked dry of every asset by the Belgians.

Kimble refers with approval to statements of Portuguese officials that Portugal "had long sought to make the keystone of its colonial economic policy welfare rather than profit," and in general "to Christianize, colonize and civilize." He praises these as honest sentiments and adds: "Nor can it be doubted that these sentiments find daily expression in the work of the Portuguese governors and their aides." This hardly squares with the 1947 Galvao report on conditions in Portugal's African colonies. (See page 3).

THE AUTHOR found no room in 1,110 pages to write a word about the wealth drained out of the African colonies nor about the lopsided economy resulting from the systematic exploitation of raw materials and the huge profits made from African labor forcibly kept cheap.

He has little to say about African leaders, nothing at all about their plans for progress. Such leaders as Nkrumah, Touré and others remain shadowy, unreal figures attempting unrealistic projects. Most extraordinarily, the valiant, epic struggle for colonial emancipation in Africa is presented in this book bereft of all human and dramatic quality.

Kimble, however, has stressed what to him seems the three key issues in **Tropical Africa:** (1) the danger of Russian aggression and its inevitable corollary, the need for Western military bases in Africa; (2) the need for the Africans to progress slowly; and (3) the importance of federating African states on a tribal basis.

He says of tropical Africa: "Its heartland is handier to Moscow than Texas is, and more tempting." Consequently, he insists, the region has "a strategic status of the first order" because "to the Western power it offers elbow room, the possibility of defense in depth, and ready access to the trouble spots of the Middle East and Europe (Mombasa, for instance, is nearer to Moscow than Seattle is to Vladivostok). It also offers vital war supplies of all kinds." Kimble adds: "Whether its people wish it or not, such a region must be adequately served by military airfields." This is contrary to the analysis and desire of all African leaders of stature.

KIMBLE WANTS the Africans to proceed slowly even in acquiring education because, he says, "there are few more dangerous persons than [those] who are bloated with knowledge but barren of wisdom." This is a description that fits the author and his contributors and consultants better than it does the African leaders.

Like those who are advising the Congolese to form a federation of 80 tribes, Kimble recommends an African federation of 600 tribes; he justifies it by the sophistry that, if the African leaders really believed in self-determination, the principle should apply to every tribe, no matter how small. He stresses the impossibility of rapid progress due to tribal differences and lack of capital in small African states; he ignores the example set by such small states as North Korea—an example which is being successfully emulated by Guinea, for instance.

It is a pity that with the backing of the Twentieth Century Fund and the reputation of its author and its contributors, **Tropical Africa** turns out to be no more than special pleading for Western colonial policy toward Africa.

—**Kumar Goshal**

**TROPICAL AFRICA*, by George H. T. Kimble. 1,110 pp. Published by The Twentieth Century Fund, 41 E. 70th St., New York 21. 2 volumes, $15.*

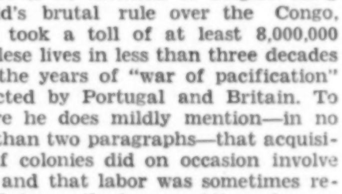
Chain gang chosen

EIGHT MEMBERS of Rock Hill, S.C., Congress of Racial Equality and a CORE field secretary, Thomas Gaither, have been sentenced to 30 days on a chain gang for sitting-in at a McCrory's lunch counter.

The sit-in demonstrators were given the option of serving on the chain gang or paying $100 fines. The CORE group had daily sit-ins at McCrory and Woolworth lunch counters from mid-December to Feb. 1 when all lunch counters in Rock Hill were closed.

What's happened since the sit-ins began?

You can find the answer in the story on Page 7, just as you can find the answers to many such questions in the GUARDIAN. That is why more Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a year.



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BISHOP PIKE ATTACKS HUAC

Rep. Powell backs move to restrict Un-American funds

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL (D-N.Y.) has announced his support of the move by Reps. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) to cut the 1961 appropriations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In a letter to a constituent Jan. 31, Rep. Powell said: "You can count on my fullest cooperation in throttling the authority of that committee which has long since outlived its usefulness." Powell said he agreed on the "wisdom and urgency of curtailing the appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee because of the highly un-American and questionable manner in which it has conducted its inquiries."

The New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has urged people to write Reps. Roosevelt, Ryan and Powell in support of their anti-HUAC stands.

Bishop James A. Pike of California, also had harsh words for the committee. He told the Episcopal diocesan convention Jan. 31 that the committee usurps the functions of the police and the judiciary and denies its victims due process of law.

ABOLISH IT: HUAC has answered increasing attacks from organizations, newspapers and prominent citizens with red-baiting. Committee chairman Francis Walter (D- Pa.) protested in Congress Jan. 24 a call for abolition of the committee signed by 346 prominent persons. The call was published as an ad in the Washington **Post** on Jan. 2. Walter said that "a number" of the signers had been identified as Communist Party members and "a few dozen of them" have unwaveringly promoted the Moscow line.

Walter said the "ad has certain char-

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL
In the fight on Un-Americans

acteristics which are typical of Soviet anti-United States propaganda," and quoted "a statement made by Lenin many years ago" calling for a campaign "calculated to provoke in the reader hatred, disgust, contempt." Walter said: "The ad in the Washington **Post** was 'calculated to provoke in the reader hatred, disgust, contempt' for the Committee on Un-American Activities."

Among the ad's signers were Eleanor Roosevelt, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Carl Sandburg, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Bishop John Wesley Lord, Reinhold Niebuhr, Linus Pauling and Harold C. Urey.

OPERATION DOCTOR: On Jan. 29, Walter accused Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast longshoremen, of exhorting the students in San Francisco during demonstrations against the committee last May. In reply, Bridges called Walter "the most consummate liar on the political scene today."

An Associated Press report on the Walter charge said: "Bridges never did appear in the hearing room, but showed up briefly in the City Hall rotunda after the police had turned fire hoses on the student demonstrators."

A doctored film version of the demonstrations, **Operation Abolition,** which calls them "communist-inspired" has been shown across the country. The Defense Dept. recently announced the purchase of 30 prints. Several newspapers and the Americans for Democratic Action have protested.

NEW YORK

DON'T FORGET — THIS MONDAY EVE:

Inside Red China

Robert Cohen's film documentary

— For details see ad on p. 3 —

Eugene Dennis, 56

EUGENE DENNIS, honorary national chairman of the Communist Party U.S.A. and its general secretary from 1945 to 1957, died of lung cancer Jan. 31 in Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City. He was born in Seattle in 1904, joined the CP in 1926 and became its general secretary following the unseating of Earl Browder in 1945. He was the top leader of the CP among the 11 convicted under the Smith Act in the memorable Foley Square trial of 1949.

Dennis had been gravely ill for more than a year prior to his death. In December, 1959, he was called before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington to testify on whether he was scheduled to be "dumped" from his then post of national secretary at the national convention of the Party later that week. He responded to the subpena, refused to answer questions on constitutional grounds and that night suffered a stroke which rendered him temporarily paralyzed. At the convention, where he was the scheduled keynoter, the keynote address was delivered by Gus Hall, a fellow defendant in the 1949 Foley Square trial. Hall was designated general secretary and Dennis was appointed honorary national chairman.

Although mortally ill and, in his final weeks, in agonizing pain much of the time, Dennis continued to give close attention to party affairs and two hours before his death had been reading and commenting on new resolutions and plans.

TALL, BUSHY-HAIRED, pipe-smoking Eugene Dennis was little known even in CP circles when he became the Party's general secretary in 1945, following reversal of Browder's conversion of the CP into a Communist Political Association. Soon after taking over, the new general secretary came under the fire of the House Un-American Activities Committee, then headed by Rep. John Rankin (D-Miss.). When Rankin introduced a bill in 1947 to prevent the reconstituted CP from running candidates, Dennis appeared as a voluntary witness before the Committee. He was barred from making his intended statement and subpenaed for a future hearing. He refused to attend.

At the Smith Act trial in 1949, Dennis made the opening statement and pointed out that no overt act was charged in the indictment. He said the trial was intended to lay the groundwork for outlawing the CP and "to nullify the rights secured to the American people in the first ten amendments to the Constitution [the Bill of Rights]."

When the Supreme Court affirmed the convictions in the Dennis Case by a vote of 6-2 (Black and Douglas dissenting) Vito Marcantonio, speaking for the now-defunct American Labor Party, declared that "the extent to which the Bill of Rights is torn to pieces for Communists, to that extent it is torn for everybody."

Dennis served three years and eight months of his five-year sentence and on release was ordered to abstain from all political activity for another ten months. Following his resumption of party activity, he was designated secretary in charge

EUGENE DENNIS
Shown as a Smith act victim

of national affairs in 1957, directing the party's activities with seven national secretaries until the office of general secretary was reconstituted with Gus Hall's appointment in 1959.

His widow, Peggy, is known to thousands for her work in behalf of the Smith Act families in the period when more than 100 Communist leaders were imprisoned, on trial or under Smith Act indictment. She and their son, Eugene Jr., 17, live at 628 W. 151st St., New York 31, N.Y.

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JFK's antidote

(Continued from Page 1)

surplus foods for needy families and school lunches.

- Reduce interest rate on FHA insured mortgages from 5¾% to 5½%, reduce interest rate on Federal loans for community projects, and speed up already authorized urban renewal and college housing projects.
- Speed up payment of $258,000,000 in dividends on Veterans insurance.
- Speed up already authorized procurement and construction plans for public projects, and expenditures for Federal highway program.
- Reform tax laws to provide special incentives stimulating investments. Make up revenue loss by closing certain unwarranted tax loopholes.
- Set up a President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to advise on industrial peace, increased productivity, and avoidance of "unsound wage and price movements."

HIGHLY LIMITED: Many of these proposals are so uncontroversial as to receive bipartisan Congressional support.

Fischetti, New York World-Telegram and Sun
Doorman at a plush hotel

On others, Republican and Democratic differences will be very minor. For example, the only likely debate over Kennedy's minimum wage proposal will come on whether to authorize the $1.25 minimum in 1963. The Social Security improvements are desirable, but of a very minimal nature.

The Kennedy proposal for Temporary Unemployment Compensation (TUC) illustrates the extraordinaraly limited nature of his entire program. His TUC plan is almost identical with one adopted by Congress in the 1958 recession. Both provide voluntary, not mandatory, participation by each state; both exclude Federal grants and provide for loans which must be repaid to the Federal government; both would permit an increase in the duration of benefits by 50% over each state's present limit with a maximum duration of 39 weeks. Neither plan provides any aid to jobless workers not now covered by Unemployment Insurance. In several industrial states, the Kennedy plan would provide loans for only nine or fewer added weeks of benefits.

In 1958 Kennedy as a Senator attacked the TUC plan he now advances, charging that "as a solution to the economic problems caused by widespread unemployment [it] is completely ineffective. It offers the illusion of assistance . . . without the substance of effective help." Sen. Kennedy was right. The fact is that in 1961, as in 1958, any state can extend its unemployment benefits if it wishes without new Federal legislation, and the offer of a loan to finance such action is of very limited significance.

SITUATION WORSE: The TUC plan Kennedy now advances is even more limited than the plan advanced by President Eisenhower in 1958; it is far less satisfactory than the 1958 alternative plan of the House Democratic leadership reported out of the Ways and Means Committee which would have extended benefits 16 weeks to **all** exhaustees, raised benefit payments, and paid the extra cost with a Federal grant rather than loans. President Kennedy's 1961 proposal is vastly inferior to the amendments he and Rep. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) proposed in 1958 to give **all** unemployed workers 39 weeks of protection with increased benefit payments, and the extra cost financed by Federal grant.

The contrast is heightened by the fact that the unemployment situation is much more serious in 1961 than it was in 1958, as the following table indicates:

Unemployment Contrasted

	December 1957	December 1960
Total Average Unemployment	3,374,000	4,540,000
Unemployment as % of Labor Force	5.2	6.8
Involuntary Part-Time	1,306,000	1,454,000
Unemployed Over 15 Weeks	626,000	1,015,000
Unemployment Compensation Exhaustions	110,000	156,600

CAGEY OR CONSERVATIVE? President Kennedy's economic message embraces the conservative policy that all the Federal projects are to be self-liquidating, with no deficit financing or pump priming. Special assurances are given business and banking circles on the "soundness of the dollar." The President seems to be gambling, as Eisenhower did in early 1958, that the normal course of the business cycle will bring an upturn by mid-year and eliminate the need for more drastic action. At least in this economic message, there is no apparent program to deal with the long-range stagnation of the economy, or the swelling chronic unemployment.

Some observers believe that President Kennedy's extreme moderation in his initial legislative proposals is merely a tactic at the start of his new Administration. Others see it as a true reflection of the President's basic conservatism and inclination towards compromise and retreat from a fight with powerful vested interests.

One liberal Democratic Senator who had close legislative association with the President expressed the latter view somewhat bitterly to me last week. He based his opinion on experiences with Kennedy's easy and quick compromises in the Senate on a number of issues including wages and hours, student loyalty oath, and labor legislation.

In contrast with 1958, when there were many less jobless, there is no mass pressure today from the unemployed or unions to get effective action against unemployment. Perhaps the limitations of President Kennedy's initial economic proposals will suggest to the labor movement that it cannot stand quietly aside and expect to have economic problems taken care of by the White House.

Pickets protest naming of Nazi General to NATO

TWELVE PERSONS PICKETED the German Consulate General's office in San Francisco for two hours on Jan. 31 to protest the appointment of Gen. Adolf Heusinger as chairman of the Permanent Military Committee of NATO. He is scheduled to take his post in Washington on April 1.

Heusinger is now inspector general of the West German army. From 1940 to 1944, he was chief of operations of Hitler's army. He planned the Nazi invasions of Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. In New York, the Committee to Stop Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism charged that he is responsible for the murder of two million Jews by the "Einsatzgruppen" under his command. The committee appealed to President Kennedy to annul the appointment. Individuals are also urged to protest.

Rev. King calls government investor in segregation

WRITING IN THE JAN. 30 issue of **The Nation,** the Rev. Martin Luther King called the Federal government the nation's "highest investor in segregation" and called on the Kennedy Administration to conduct a thorough examination of "its own operations and development of a rigorous program to wipe out immediately every vestige of Federal support and sponsorship of discrimination."

The Southern Negro leader said that even without further legislation the President, through exercise of the Executive power, "could give segregation a death blow through a stroke of the pen." He suggested that the President should call a White House conference of Negro and white leaders which would serve "the great purpose of opening the channels of communication between the races." He also proposed that the President appoint a Secretary of Integration.

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PETE SEEGER, Guy Carawan and an unusual program of folk music are scheduled for a Carnegie Hall concert Friday evening, Feb. 10, for the benefit of Highlander Folk School. The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham integration leader, will speak. The program includes the American Baptist Theological Seminary Quartet, popularly known as "The Sit-in Quartet;" the Montgomery Gospel Trio, three young women active in the bus boycott; Kim Loy Wong and his All-City Steel Band, Memphis Slim and Willie Dixon, Hedy West and Bill McAdoo.

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Ticket prices range from $2-$10, with boxes for eight at $80-$100, on sale at Carnegie Hall.

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THE GALLERY

NINETY-TWO FACULTY MEMBERS at the University of Washington last week protested the showing on campus of a film strip, **Communism on the Map**, by the Young Democrats. The film was produced by the Natl. Education Program, Harding College, Searcy, Ark. It credits "communists" with control or substantial influence in all countries except the U.S., Switzerland, Formosa (Taiwan) and West Germany.

In a statement, the faculty members said: "The probable effect of the picture upon a credulous or uninformed person will be (1) to convince him that our allies in NATO are worthless; (2) to breed distrust of our democratic institutions on the score of their inability to resist communism and hence, (3) to prepare public opinion for military control . . ."

Students frequently broke into laughter during the showing. They applauded loudly during a debate when Prof. Giovanni Costigan called the film "a snow job." Rev. Ralph Waud, who praised the film, got only sparse applause.

One student told the Seattle **Times**: "Any film that represents Canada, England and Ireland so communistic is an outright lie." Another thought that the film was "a good piece of Red propaganda because it makes communism sound so successful."

The Young Democrats said that it did not endorse the film and "formally had gone on record in opposition to parts of it."

Ernest W. Campbell, superintendent of schools, decided against showing the film in Seattle schools. But the film has had a wide circulation in the area. A print was bought by the Sand Point Naval Air Base and shown as part of the "information-and-leadership program." It was loaned to several civilian groups, but after protest the base commander forebade its use outside the base.

The film was shown at the Boeing Airplane Co. along with **Operation Abolition**, a doctored film of the student demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco last spring. A Boeing official told the Seattle **Times**: "We are interested in the security of the country and have taken this means of showing a threat we believe exists. The films give well-documented evidence of how communists are attempting to accomplish their program on a world-wide basis."

MODERN TELEVISION SERVICE in Los Angeles, on the back of its business card, lists the things people should know for "civil defense preparedness." The card urges people to stock family shelters with food and water, keep an emergency kit in the car, tune to CONELRAD and to coordinate with local CD officials. Below a lengthy explanation of the meaning of siren blasts, the card lists the emergency police and CD phone numbers and at the very bottom it says: "Television Repair, DU 4-7460." . . . If Ingemar Johansson loses his heavyweight championship fight with Floyd Patterson he can blame it on the Walter-McCarran Act. The U.S. Consulate in Helsinki refused to give Pekka Kokkonen a visa to come here to act as Johansson's sparring partner because Kokkonen allegedly ran on a Communist Party ticket in a local election five years ago . . . Pressure from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee caused CBS-TV to reschedule **The Spy Next Door**, a drama about Soviet espionage in the U.S. The play had been canceled because the network did not want to hurt President Kennedy's efforts "to improve relations with the Soviet Union." Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.), a member of the subcommittee, said that after reading the script he told CBS officials that they were making a "serious mistake" in depriving the public of a "vivid, documented and accurate portrayal of Russian espionage in this country." The subcommittee had questioned Jay Lovestone, foreign affairs adviser to AFL-CIO president George Meany, on the effect of the cancellation. Lovestone said: "The effect is very dangerous. It will convince the Russians we are giving up the right to indict their system of tyranny and subversion. It will encourage the Kremlin leaders to think they can expect an amount of censorship over our media of communication."

Leo Garel, Wall Street Journal
"What do you recommend to stock a fallout shelter?"

ONE OF OUR BANKS is missing. If anyone finds the American & Foreign Bank of Tangier or its $4,043,907 assets, please inform depositors. The bank was formed in 1942 with headquarters in Tangier. On June 22, 1960, bank president T. Ttangbye wrote depositors that recent reforms in Tangier made it impossible to continue freedom of activity and that "we are packing our books and records and shipping them to Panama," where the climate for bankers presumably was better. The letter gave a post office box number in Panama City for "absolute emergency transactions." Efforts by depositors to locate the bank in Tangier or Panama have been futile. The State Dept. and the Moroccan and Panamanian governments have been involved in the search. Last month Interpol, the international police organization, was called into the case . . . Homer Bigart in a story on Australia in the New York **Times** reported that one official told him: "Top golf clubs and places like that won't let Jews in, but there is no anti-Semitism." . . . The Delaware River Port Authority reported a "first." It took out a $10,000,000 insurance policy, covering injury, sickness, death or loss of property on the Benjamin Franklin and Walt Whitman bridges as a result of nuclear explosions.

—Robert E. Light

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the SPECTATOR

Puerto Rico gets a voice

HAVANA

IN A GESTURE typical of Fidel Castro, Cuba has given its citizenship to Laura Albizu Campos and appointed her to its UN delegation. Her husband, Pedro, the Puerto Rican Nationalist leader, has spent all but seven of the last 25 years in U.S. and Puerto Rican jails, and now lies paralyzed and near death in the island to whose freedom his life has been given. For that cause his wife, frail-looking but intellectually vigorous at 66, will be a moving spokesman before the parliament of nations whenever opportunity arises.

"I am grateful and proud, but this appointment came as a surprise," she told me in her modest home here—a gathering-place for Puerto Rican exiles, from which the Latin American politico-cultural review **Humanismo** is published. Washington bars her from visiting her husband, and she does not expect to see him again. Her son-in-law and daughter (the latter now visiting here with the little granddaughter Laura) still live in Puerto Rico and are allowed to spend 15 minutes a week in "Don Pedro's" guarded hospital room.

SENORA ALBIZU CAMPOS' warm smile shows that the years of suffering have only sharpened the edge of her spirit. She is convinced that under-cover U.S. government agencies have deliberately done her husband to death, in experiments to subject prisoners to radiation in their cells.

There is strong evidence to support this charge, first made in a smuggled-out note in 1952 by Albizu Campos, who was an advanced science student at Harvard. (He was then seeking some protection against the "rays" by wrapping himself in wet sheets, and his wife showed me without comment a "new scientific discoveries" listing in the 1955 **World Almanac:** "Soaking in water was found to protect living tissues from radiation injury.") There is no doubt that he was severely and "mysteriously" burned on arms and legs. But as Sra. Albizu Campos says dryly: "It is as hard for ordinary Americans to believe as the atrocities in Korea."

An intellectual in the same class as her husband, she sacrificed her own brilliant prospects as he sacrificed his. When he was at Harvard, and president of its foreign students' association, she, with a Ph. D. in biology and botany from her native Peru, came to Radcliffe for advanced study. There they met such later famous people as Harold Laski, India's Subhas Bose and Rabindranath Tagore, Lewis Gannett, and Mme. Chiang-to-be (then at Wellesley). They were invited to the White House, and the doors of wealth and success were wide open.

Married and settled in Puerto Rico, they began organizing the people to demand that the occupying power should get out, and ignored many lavish offers to water this down or forget it. Albizu Campos traveled throughout Latin America contacting revolutionary groups.

BY 1932 THE YANQUI occupiers were resorting to open violence against the Nationalists, and the leader's home had to be guarded day and night. In 1936 Albizu Campos was sentenced to his first long prison term for "conspiracy to overthrow." He left Atlanta penitentiary stateless—the "citizenship imposed on Puerto Ricans by the Yanquis was canceled" as his wife puts it—and dying of angina, but recovered after two years in a hospital.

In 1950, Yanqui violence against the Nationalists reached a new peak and the Nationalists fought back almost barehanded. More than 3,000 Puerto Ricans were jailed, and Albizu Campos got a 79-year sentence for "armed rebellion."

Under the present formula for purposes of avoiding UN discussion, Puerto Rico is a "state in free association with the U.S." As Sra. Albizu Campos says, "it has not one of the attributes of a state." Its people are "U.S. citizens" (as long as Washington approves of their politics) and are jailed if they refuse to serve in the occupiers' armed forces. (It is estimated that some 6,000 Puerto Ricans in U.S. uniforms died "for democracy" in Korea.) Its economy, foreign relations, transport and communications are controlled by Washington where it has no voice in the Congress. Its all-U.S. imports are produced by workers who earn three times more, and Puerto Rico's cost of living is 25% higher than the U.S. Crammed with U.S. atomic and other bases—including a $100,000,000 guided-missile base—it is No. 1 candidate for extinction if the U.S. chooses to start a war. Toward the Puerto Rican Muñoz Marin, who has lent himself as a gubernatorial front for this colony-"state," Sra. Campos expresses brief but withering contempt.

"NO COUNTRY is more closely watched by Cubans than Puerto Rico," she points out; and for Puerto Ricans, "as neighbors and traditionally close comrades. Cuba's revolution is a great source of pride and hope." Back in the 1890's when Marti began the struggle in Cuba, Puerto Rico's revolutionaries were actually a branch of the Cuban revolutionary party and took the Cuban flag with colors reversed as the national Puerto Rican flag. The U.S. mounts guard to exclude Cuban "subversive propaganda" from Puerto Rico, but intensive jamming cannot keep Puerto Rican ears unsullied by the Cuban radio, the "liberty network."

It is in every way appropriate, Sra. Albizu Campos feels, that she should go as a citizen of revolutionary Cuba to carry on the fight for Puerto Rican liberty at the UN. So opens another chapter in her heroic but tragic life. And from San Juan, P.R., the Havana press reports: "For the liberty of Pedro Albizu Campos and other political prisoners, pickets will demonstrate each Sunday beginning Jan. 29 before the residence of Assoc. Gov. Muñoz Marin . . ."

—**Cedric Belfrage**